RUINS

OF THE

NÁLAṆDA MONASTERIES

AT BURGÁON,

SUB-DIVISION BIHÁR, ZILLAH PATNA.

BY

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NÁLANDA MONASTERIES AT BURGÁON,

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The village of Burgáon lies exactly six miles south-west of Bihár and seven miles north-east of Rájgir. From the row of conical mounds to the south of the modern village, the "solitary rock" of the former place, and the rugged mountains which once surrounded the ancient capital of Magadha, are distinctly visible, both objects presenting a break in the broad expanse of poppy-fields and rice-lands which meets the eye in all directions, and which gently slopes from the foot of the Rájgir hills to the banks of the Ganges itself.

By its position, by the comparison of distances, and by the aid of inscriptions,* Burgáon has been identified, beyond the possibility of a doubt, with that Vihára-grám on the outskirts of which, more than a thousand years ago, flourished the great Nálanda monastery, the most magnificent and the most celebrated seat of Budhist learning in the world. When the caves and temples of Rájgir were abandoned to the ravages of decay, and when the followers of Tathágata forsook the mountain dwellings of their great teacher, the monastery of Nálanda arose in all its splendour on the banks of the lakes of Burgáon. Successive monarchs vied in its embellishment; lofty pagodas were raised in all directions; halls of disputation and schools of instruction were built between them; shrines, temples, and topes were constructed on the side of every tank and encircled the base of every tower; and around the whole mass of religious edifices were grouped the "four-storied" dwellings of the preachers and teachers of Budhism.

The temples of Rájgir belong to one period of the religion or Sákhyá-muni, and the topes and pagodas of Burgáon to another. The former are characteristic of the days of primitive Budhism; of rigid

* See note on figure No. LI.

austerity; of rude buildings; of mountain-solitude; of the constant contemplation which was alone consummated in "nirvána;" the second of an age of artistic cultivation and skill; of a gorgeous and luxuriant style of architecture; of deep philosophical knowledge; of profound and learned discussions, and of rapid progress in the path of civilization. In Rájgir the archæologist lights uniformly on rude battlements of giant proportions; on temples of the crudest design; and on cave dwellings of the greatest possible simplicity of construction. The thousand years which elapsed brought about a vast and remarkable change: the grottoes of the "arhats" gave place to the four-storied and highly ornamented pagodas of the ecclesiastics of Burgáon; the four laws of Sákhyá-muni were overladen with the interpretations and commentaries of a countless multitude of sages and philosophers; the simple topes of Rájgir were exchanged for a style of architecture more gaudy and elaborate perhaps than any in the world; and intricate and profound discussions had taken the place of bodily austerity and mental abstraction. The monastery, or, more strictly and correctly speaking, the university of Nálanda, was as it were a circle from which Budhist philosophy and teaching diffused itself over Southern Asia. It was here that Aryadeva of Ceylon attached himself to the person of the great teacher Nagardjuna and adopted his religious opinions, and it was here Hoien Thsang spent a great portion of his pilgrimage in search of religious instruction.

The authentic history of the rise of this great monastery commences in 415 A.D. In that year Fah Hiyan, the first of the Budhist pilgrims, paid a visit to the spot. He tells us very little of what he saw there, remarking merely that Saripútrá (the right hand disciple of Sákhyá-muni) was born there, and that he eventually returned there to enter nirvána.* Fah Hiyan also tells us that a lofty tower commemorated the "nirvána" of Saripútra; but he says nothing of the gorgeous monastery, of the coloured pagodas, or of the rows of towers, though he invariably notes the presence of a Samghárama throughout his work. Hence it may be inferred that the prosperity and magnificence of Nálandagrám was of subsequent date to his visit, and this theory is borne out by the dates and writings contained in the large number of inscriptions I have recovered from the ruins.

The next glimpse we get of the monastery is more than two hundred years later. In March 637 A.D., Hoien Thsang arrived there and took up his residence there for more than a year. He devotes many pages of his journal to an account of the place, the manners and customs of the monks, and the treatment he received at their hands. Passing over as unimportant the story of his reception by the brethren, his introduction to the great sage Cilabhadra, and his diet (mental as well as bodily), we come to a description of the place itself. He tells us the word Nálanda (*i.e.* "Nalanto") in Chinese signifies "he who gives without ceasing." [*Histoire de la vie de Hionen Thsang et de ses voyages dans*

* General Cunningham throws doubt on this statement, remarking that, according to the more detailed account of Hoien Thsang, Saripútra was born at Kulapinaka, about half-way between Burgáon and Giryak. This I can very satisfactorily identify with the picturesque village of Chandeenow, 3¼ miles south-east of Burgáon, and 2½ miles north-west of Giryak. In this village I discovered several topes, some idols, of colossal proportion, and many beautiful specimens of Budhist sculpture.

l'Inde. Par Stanislas Julien. Paris 1853, *livre troisieméne*, p. 149, &c.] The text then runs as follows :—

This is what the old men relate on the subject. "To the south of the convent, and situated in the midst of a garden of mango trees, there was a pond inhabited by a dragon named Nálanda." [I identify this with the great Indrapokoor.] "At its side a monastery was built, and for this reason called the Nálanda-vihára. It is also stated that when Tathágata was leading the life of a Bodhisattva, he became monarch of a large kingdom and took up his residence in this place. Touched with compassion for the desolate and distressed, he was constantly conferring favors on others, and distributing alms. The inhabitants, from gratitude, called the place 'the country of the prince who gives without ceasing,' *i.e.* Nálandadésa. In former times a huge mango garden was situated on the spot, and was the property of a wealthy landholder. Five hundred merchants bought it for a million pieces of gold and presented it to Budha. Budha himself expounded the law here for three months, and many among these merchants obtained the fruit of knowledge ("bodhi"). After the "nirvána" of Budha, an ancient king of the country, named Sakráditya, filled with respect and love for Budha, built a monastery here at his own cost. This king was succeeded by his son Bouddhagoupta. This monarch after his succession constructed another monastery further to the south. A little further to the east his son, King Tathágata, erected another monastery. His son Báláditya built a convent further to the north-east. Afterwards, learning that a pilgrim would come from China and seek aid at his hands, he abandoned his throne in a transport of joy and assumed the garb of a recluse. His son Vadjra succeeded him, and built another convent further to the north. A short time after this a king of Central India built a monastery at the side of this one. In this manner six kings who ascended the throne one after another devoted themselves to the construction of these religious edifices. The last of these kings surrounded all of them with a brick wall, and so brought them into one enclosure. He also erected a lofty entrance gate. He opened separate halls for disputation, and *divided the open space between the monasteries into eight courts.* There were rows of lofty minarets arranged in regular order, and pavilions ornamented with coral arose on all sides likes lances. The cupolas of the buildings reached the sky, and from the windows of the temples the spectator could see the birthplace of wind and cloud, whilst the sun and the moon appeared on a level with the lofty roofs. A stream of clear water wound around the buildings, and this was adorned with the blossoms of the full-blown lotus flower. Here and there peeped out the bright red 'kanaka,' protected by the dense shade of the overspreading mango trees. In the several courts the houses of the recluses were four stories high. The pavilions were supported by columns covered with fantastic designs, and were decorated with paintings, sculpture, and elegant verandahs. The lintels of the doorways were most elaborately carved, and the roofs were covered with bright tiles. Now-a-days there are millions of monasteries in India, but there are none which equal these for loftiness, magnificence, and grandeur." . . . . . .

This was the state of the monastery of Nálanda in the middle of the 7th century of our era, and there can be little doubt that it flourished and prospered for another five or six hundred years. The information given by the great Budhist pilgrim as to the period of the construction of these six monasteries is extremely vague, and the entire silence of Chi Fah Hiyan as to their existence at the time of his visit, together with the comparatively modern character of the inscriptions found in the ruins and the marked distinction between the styles of architecture and sculpture displayed at Rájgir and Burgáon, lead one to the conclusion that the great Budhist university of Nálanda saw its palmiest days between the years 500 A.D. and 1000 A D. Mr. Beal tells us the monastery was three times destroyed by the enemies of the Budhist faith, hence it is quite possible the establishment may have had an earlier origin; but there can be little doubt that the great magnificence and splendour of Burgáon dates from the 6th century.

Various writers have made Burgáon the capital of a great kingdom,—the seat of the rule of some mysterious prince of Magadha; but this theory seems to me distinctly negatived by the appearance of the ruins. At Burgáon one sees no lofty wall; no rugged battlements; no ruined towers and bastions,—the characteristic features of Kusánagarápúra, the royal city of Bimbisára or of Rájgir, the capital of his son. The exploration of its ruins already made, and every fresh excavation that may hereafter be accomplished, will, I think, lead to the conclusion that "Vihára-grám" was merely a great "vihára" or college—perhaps rather a cluster of viháras—a university in fact of Budhist learning, Budhist philosophy, and Budhist divinity—defended alone by its sanctity, patronised by a long succession of princes, and regarded by Budhists generally as the chief seat of their faith from Thibet to Ceylon.

Approaching the ruins from Bihár, we first arrive at an enormous tank running due east and west for nearly a mile, and about a quarter of a mile broad. It is now called the "Digee-pokar," and is surrounded on all sides by fine groves of mango trees. At the west end of the lake is situated the modern village of Bégumpore. About three hundred feet to the south of the village is a large square mound, once apparently flanked with small towers and having no connection with the Budhist remains, being evidently the ruins of a Mahomedan fort. Immediately to the south of this are two small Budhist topes, some fifty feet in circumference and not more than six or eight feet high. I found in these several fine Budhist *and Hindu* idols, notably a crowned figure of Vishnu seated on his sacred bird; and several figures which I recovered from the village itself evidently came from the same place. One thousand eight hundred and twenty-five feet south-west of these topes is a very beautiful square tank known as the "Suruj-pokar," which measures as near as possible four hundred feet on each side. This pond was once flanked with a row of small topes on the north side covered with massive brick cupolas, and their ruins still exist in tolerable entirety. I clearly marked out six of these temples. On each side of the pond were three brick ghâts, and the ruins of these may still be traced. The banks of the tank served also as the repository for "choityos." Several

of these were taken out of the tank by me, and I saw many others beneath the clear water. At the south-east corner of the pond I found a perfect heap of idols, all of great beauty; and the receding waters had laid bare an enormous and elaborately carved "Varáha," nine feet high and four feet wide, broken in two pieces. Most of these are now in my collection. Immediately to the west of the tank is a field tilled by one Issur Sing, whose plough has for years been employed in levelling a large tumulus, the merest trace of which now remains. Last year two exceedingly beautiful carvings were turned up here—a standing figure of Vishnu, three feet high and perfect, executed in a kind of green stone of peculiar appearance; and a slab five feet long, containing representations of the ten incarnations of Vishnu eight inches high; both these carvings are in my collection. About twenty feet to the east of the tank is a tumulus surmounted by a luxuriant "bar" tree. Due south of this, and at a distance of one thousand two hundred feet, is an enormous mound, six hundred feet in circumference and nearly fifty feet in height. Seven hundred and ninety feet to the south of this is another mound of greater extent but less elevation, and between the two is a small modern brick enclosure containing seven Budhas, and the broken "lion throne" of an eighth. One of these is of huge dimensions, not less than eight feet high, roughly executed, and in the usual attitude of Budhist contemplation. All of these figures are more or less broken. The largest of them is worshipped by the Hindus of the neighbourhood under the names of "Téliá Bhandár"* and "Bhairav."

The sculptures and inscriptions of Burgáon lend no aid to the theory which represents the violent overthrow of Budhism by the partisans of Hinduism; indeed they lend support to the very opposite conclusion. Side by side are seen the idols of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma, and the figures of Budha and Myádevi. The removal of the vast heaps of rubbish which covered the central monastery disclosed quite as many Hindu idols as it did Budhist; and what is more, there is a third class which may be said to belong to both faiths, *i.e.*, those figures of Vishnu and Durgá, which show a Budha seated in the hair, or over the head. These facts, together with the existence of an unusually large number of Brahmin families in the modern village, the great reverence still entertained for Burgáon by the Hindus of the surrounding country, and the numerous Hindu legends† concerning it,

* The télis (oilmen) must have once been a very powerful clan; the great temple itself (see Appendix A) seems to have been at least adorned by a man of that caste. A large Budhist figure brought by me from the ruins of the Tétrawan monastery bore the name of the "Télia Dhobee" (!), and a popular refrain makes the chief features of Bihár society, oilmen, Mahomedans, and palm trees.

"Turk, tèle, tar
Yih tinhon Bihár."

† The Brahmins consider the ruins to be those of the remains of the city of Kundilpur rendered celebrated by the birth of Rukhmini, one of the many wives of Krishna. General Cunningham thinks this tradition has arisen from a confusion of Bihár and Berar, and I have no doubt he is right. I carefully inquired of the local Brahmins, of which there are twenty-four families in Burgáon, and nearly all of them asserted that the ruined tope of Jaggispur, half-a-mile south-west of Burgáon itself, was the site of her father's palace, and is in consequence called "Rukhmin-than." On proceeding to the spot, I found the large Budha described by Montgomery Martin in his "Oya and and Shahabad," of which a very flattering illustration is to be found in his book. This figure is very rudely carved, and is surrounded by a host of smaller Budhas, guardian spirits, elephants, and lions. I was gravely assured this was a stutute of Rukhmini and it is still certainly worshipped as such.

lead me to the belief that Burgáon once saw a period when Hindus and Budhists both worshipped at its shrines; then came a time when the languid faith of the latter died out before the stronger belief, and perhaps occasional attacks and persecutions of the former; and that finally arrived a season when the Hindu establishment itself succumbed to religious indifference and Mahomedan persecution.

To return to Burgáon. Three hundred feet to the south of the last-mentioned tumulus is a third great tope, sixty high and more than one thousand feet in circumference; the largest and most important of the mounds, surrounded by a series of smaller topes, and forming the centre of the ruins of Burgáon. I found this on the 15th October 1871 literally a small hill, the surface of which was broken only by a depression on the top, and the remains of a former excavation on the eastern slope; the sides covered with a tangled mass of thicket and brushwood, and studded here and there by a solitary mango or date tree. Three hundred feet to the south of this is a fifth tope, of about six hundred feet in circumference, but of greater elevation than any of the rest. Seven hundred and ninety feet south of this is a sixth tumulus of inconsiderable size and height. Seven hundred and thirty feet south of the sixth tope is a large lake called the "Indrapokoor," which faces the whole of the southern side of the ruins of the monasteries. The three central topes are bounded on the west by three lakes, known respectively by the name of "Déha," "Bullén," and "Kundua;" and some distance west of the fifth tumulus is a pond called "Suraha," on the east bank of which are unmistakable traces of a Budhist tope. South of this is another pond called "Dudhdéha," and a third known as "Satyouti," which also is faced on its east side by the ruins of a temple or tope.

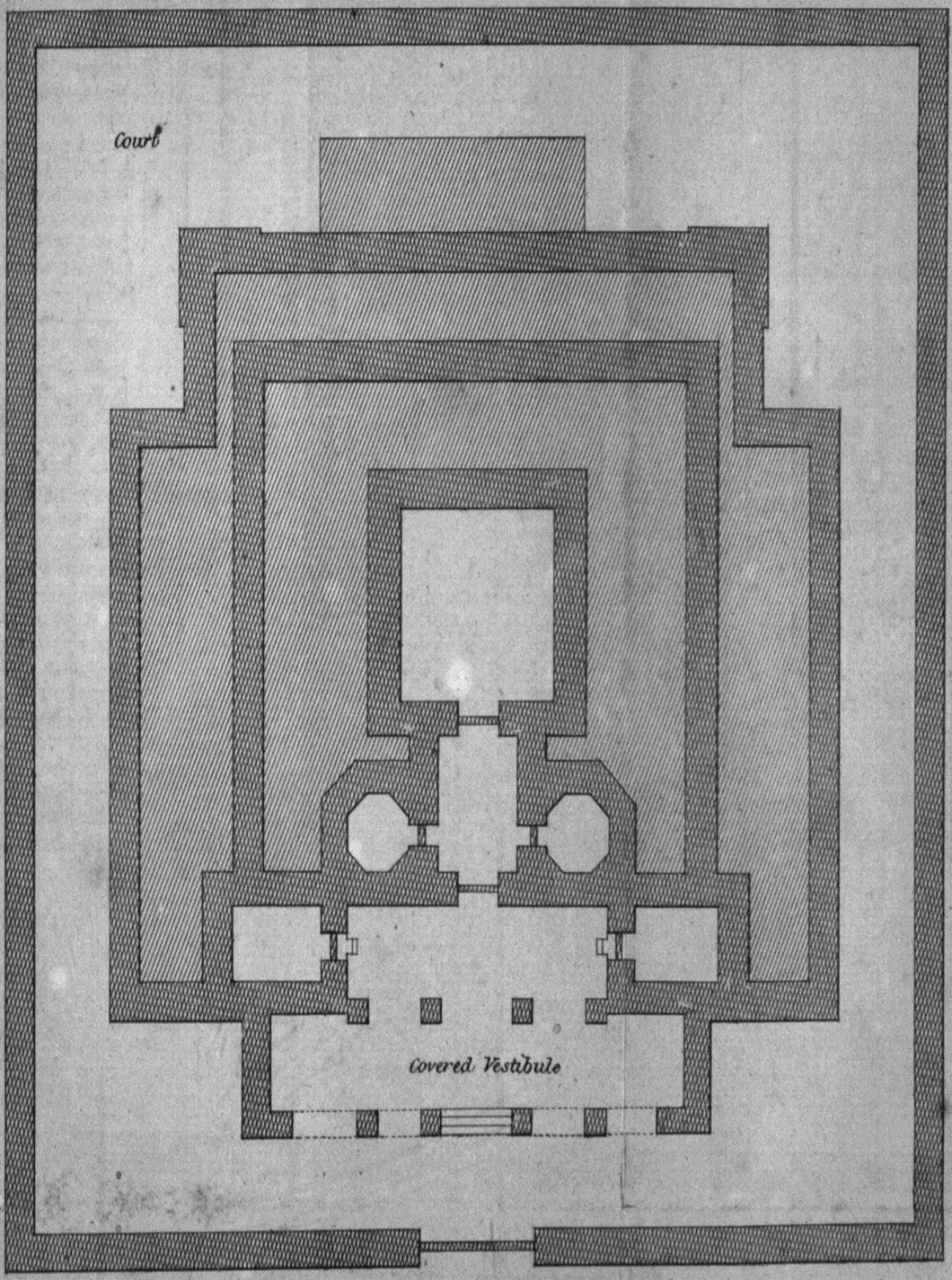
Seven hundred and twenty feet due east of the great central tope is another enormous mound, which I shall designate as the seventh tope. It is nearly as large as the central tope itself, but of much less elevation. In the level plain between these two ruins is a mass of overgrown walls and jungle-covered hillocks, broken here and there by a square patch of scanty cultivation. These are the remains of the great halls and courts of disputation, and of the dwellings of the teachers of the "right law."

Some distance south-east of this seventh tope is the village of Kapteswári, and the remains of an eighth tope, nearly reduced to the level of the surrounding plain by the toil of an industrious cultivator, who yearly ploughs across its surface, and whose grandfather discovered some fine idols and pillars which are now in my collection. The east of the ruins is faced by a tank called the "Pansoker." The modern village of Burgáon lies to the north of the ruins, and is in a line between the Pansoker and Suruj-pokar tanks.

The wall which surrounded the whole mass of conventual buildings is gone, and has left no trace; nor could the most diligent search light on the whereabouts of the great gate. Burgáon has been the brick quarry of Bihár for centuries, hence it is that the walls, gates, and houses have disappeared, while the massive tumuli are as yet untouched. To give an idea of the enormous number of bricks taken from the

GROUND PLAN
OF THE
EXCAVATED TEMPLE
AT
BURGAON

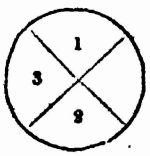
Scale 20 feet to an inch.



Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, January 1872.

place, I may mention that the zemindar of the village has built two large houses with them, one three stories high; the principal ryots of the village have brick-houses, more substantial and spacious than those of the landlords of other places; and I trace these large and massive bricks in the modern Jain temple of Burgáon, in the wall which surrounds its garden, and in the mosque and merchants' houses of Silhao. These depredations have not been confined to the bricks; the exquisitely carved lintels and pillars have disappeared to ornament Mahomedan tombs and shrines, and one door of extraordinary beauty now forms the entrance to the durgah of Sháh Ahmed Charamposh at Bihár.

For these reasons I had little hope of success when I began on the 15th October, with the aid of 1,000 laborers, to excavate the great central tumulus which I have before described. Having first cleared the jungle and brushwood, I commenced to uncover the east and west sides (see diagram). The works were continued without intermission till the 25th, with the following results. The eastern, western, and southern facades were entirely uncovered, and the ruins laid bare. Raised a few feet above the plain was an evenly paved court, as near as possible one hundred feet square. This court was surrounded by halls and buildings of every description on all sides except the eastern, and these doubtless served as the dwelling-places, refectory, &c., of the recluses of the convent. In the centre of the court rose an enormous temple eighty feet long at the base on each side, and consisting of a series of four or five terraces tapering to a point, each about fourteen feet above the other. The main fabric was composed of enormous bricks, each about one foot three inches in length, three inches thick, and ten inches wide, placed so close together that the cement which joined them is barely visible. The first two terraces of the building were uncovered, and are now almost as perfect as when Hoien Thsang saw them fourteen hundred years ago In order to preserve every detail in describing this remarkable building, we will take it side by side. The great entrance was towards the east (a custom still observed in the construction of the Budhist temples of Thibet), and was faced by a terrace of stone fifty feet in length and composed of two rows of sandstone slabs, the first decorated by a simple triangle in the centre, the second carved with a very beautiful geometrical pattern. These stones vary in length from seven to three feet, and are as near as possible a foot square. In the centre of this terrace, which is about six feet in front of the main building, is a flight of three steps exactly ten feet in length. The first court was of very considerable proportions, fifty feet by twenty-six, and was covered by a stone roof supported by a series of twelve large pillars. These columns rested first on a rough pedestal of unhewn stone which disappeared beneath the floor, and then on a cruciform base, also separate from the pillar itself, but joined to it by a stone plug six inches long, one end of which pierced the former, while the other was imbedded in the centre



of the latter. Two of these pillars were recovered by me intact, and are of the most elaborate workmanship. The cruciform base measures three feet each way, and the four arms are uniformly carved with a curious pattern. The shaft itself is seven feet eight inches high, of which one foot nine inches are taken up in the capital. The upper half of this consists of a simple square, and the latter of an oval band of a rich lace-like pattern. The rest of the pillar, down to one foot ten inches of the lower end, where it again has a third base of oblong shape, is oval, having a circumference of three feet eight inches, and ornamented at regular distances by two bands of carving about twelve inches wide. Each band consists of two parts, the first exhibiting a row of flowers strongly resembling heraldic roses, and the second a series of gurgoyle-like faces, which form a peculiar feature in Budhist ornamentation, and which is employed and re-produced at every possible opportunity. On each side of this covered terrace, but several feet behind it, is an elaborate brick moulding fourteen feet long and six and a half feet high, surmounted by a narrow terrace of the same material, approached on either side by three steps from the pillared-court. This moulding has sixteen turns, and is of the most graceful appearance. On each side of the entrance court, and above the narrow terrace, the main wall is still standing ten feet high. On the west side of the court was the great entrance door, which was uncovered by me perfect, but was thrown down in my absence by the workmen, who imagined I wished to remove the whole edifice to Bihár. This door-way was of extraordinary beauty, and measured twenty feet across and more than twelve feet high. It was composed of a series of eighteen slabs, nine on each side, gradually lessening in height towards the centre, where they terminated in a narrow portal hardly three feet wide, and surmounted by a heavy slab decorated with elaborate carving. The whole of this enormous mass of sculpture rested on three great stones, two and a half feet square and twenty-two feet in length. Each slab was joined to the next one by a strong iron clamp, and the upper portion of each was joined to the lower in the same manner. The first two stones on either side were devoid of all ornament, and were placed nearly a foot behind the other slabs. The next pillar of the series (or rather what remained of it intact) was eight feet in height, twelve inches broad, and of enormous thickness. The first stone was of light brown colour and of a soft and pliable nature, whereas this one resembled the hardest granite and presented a curious variety of appearance and colour. The base of it was plain, and above it is a grotesque kneeling figure with a long beard and hands uplifted, supporting a canopy, above which rises a long line of geometrical pattern. Slab No. 3 is of black basalt and is scarce four inches wide. It is taken up entirely by the representation of two enormous snakes, one twining round the other. The next stone (No. 4) is of the same material, and is of unusually elaborate workmanship. A winding stem of flowery pattern work covers its face, and from each side of it springs a lotus-like flower, which alternately forms the resting place of a mystic bird or elephant rampant. The fifth slab is plain. The sixth pillar is ornamented at the base with a female figure eight inches high, from whose hands spring a winding branch of foliage and flowers which stretches to the top of the lintel. On the base of this slab, on the

south side, I discovered an inscription of twelve lines, a fac-simile of which is given in the appendix (B) together with an annotated translation and reading in modern Devanagari.

The seventh slab is a repetition of the third, and the eighth is of the same stone as the second, containing three large female figures one above the other, each about one and a half feet high, and in the hands of each is seen a musical instrument similar in shape and size to the modern "sitár." The ninth stone has a simple beading, and is surmounted by a heavy slab covered with carving. The two last slabs of the series, together with the one which covers them, form the doorway which leads to the inner part of the temple. This magnificent gate led to the second hall, twelve feet wide and eighteen feet long; and on each side of this chamber were smaller octagon rooms, from the western end of which a staircase lead to the terraces above, and which were approached by narrow doors right and left of the great gateway. These rooms were evidently of great height, and were decorated by elaborately carved pannels of sandstone let into the brick-work. I have added a series of these to my own collection. One of these consists of a slab of Mirzapore stone covered with the most elaborate design, the chief feature of which is two figures with arms and legs entwined. The colour of the stone is peculiarly beautiful. Another is of black basalt, and represents a large elephant, richly caparisoned, with a lotus flower in its mouth. Beyond this, one enters by another door an inner chamber twenty-two feet square, the walls of which are in their ruined state still fourteen feet high. This was doubtless the *sanctum sanctorum* of the building, and I discovered at its western end a headless Budha four feet high, placed on a handsome "singhásan," or throne of black basalt, divided into five compartments; the first on each side containing single figures, the next lions couchant, and the centre one two devotees in the act of making an offering. The wall is eighteen feet thick on either side.

The higher terraces and roofs have toppled over on the northern side, and from an examination of their remains it is clear that the building consisted of at least five stories surmounted by a spire or minaret, not by a cupola, at least two hundred feet high in all.

The excavation of the western side is the most perfect of all. The upper terrace is about sixty three feet long, and is exactly twelve feet above the lower one, which is eleven feet wide. The wall of the higher terrace is quite plain, decorated merely by a simple moulding about three feet from the base. The terraces consist of solid brick, and not of chambers as I first imagined. This I ascertained by making a perforation six feet deep in its centre. Not quite in the centre of the building is an irregular protuberance twenty-two feet wide and twenty-seven feet long. I at first imagined it to be a portico, but on closer examination I think it must have been a mere support built up to sustain the weight of the upper stories when they showed symptoms of decay, for on removing the greater portion of it (December 5th and 6th) the pillasters, mouldings, and statues which decorate the wall of the lower terrace were found entire behind it. In fact this

protuberance seems so singularly out of place that I should have imagined it to have been a portion of the ruins of the upper stories had not the existence of regular walls precluded the possibility of such being the case. The ornamentation of each of these sides consisted of a series of mouldings and niches filled with stucco figures of Budha in various positions. After the removal of the protuberance above mentioned, the west side presented the following appearance. At the base a moulding of brick-work, five feet three inches high, having thirteen distinct turns. The moulding runs along the whole facade. After the first six feet, it recedes a foot and continues in the same line for eighteen feet, when it again advances a foot and continues in that line for eight feet, when it again recedes to the former line and so on. Above the moulding is a series of niches two feet ten inches wide and three feet three inches high. These niches are separated by pillasters about four feet six inches high. These pillasters have plain square bases, and a three-sided shaft, each shaft being somewhat semicircular in form, above this is a square moulded capital. Above the niches are projecting bosses of brick, lotus-shaped, protruding from the wall, and above these another moulding similar to that below. The niches are surmounted by *arches* of over-lapping brick, and each contained a figure in plaster. The original bricks are moulded with exquisite exactness, and present great variety of pattern; some of the pillaster bases for instance containing figures, &c., in different portions fitted together. The temple has evidently twice at least been covered by a coating of plaster moulded into different forms, but as a rule greatly inferior to the workmanship of the brick underneath. The southern side is precisely similar to the western. On the top of this terrace, which doubtless ran round the three sides of the temple, was a verandah, and the sockets of the beams are still visible in the upper wall. The southern side still stands more than thirty feet high.

In the course of the excavations a great number of idols were found, and the steps of the east front were literally piled up with "choityos" and votive tablets.

Before leaving Burgáon I made a careful survey of the ruins between the mounds, and succeeded in distinctly tracing eight halls or yards. This mass of ruins lies parallel to the great topes numbered by me III, IV, and V, and between them and the tope No. VII (see map). No. I (to the extreme south) is 114 feet east and west, and 84 feet north and south; No. II, 72 feet east and west by 40 feet north and south; No. III, 60 feet east and west by 50 feet north and south; No. IV, 40 feet east and west and 70 feet north and south; No. V, 195 feet east and west by 75 feet north and south; No. VI, 100 feet east and west by 70 feet north and south; No. VII, 100 feet east and west by 70 feet north and south; No. VIII, 100 feet east and west by 60 feet north and south. I discovered in these ruins several gateways and pillars, but no idols. These are evidently the remains of the eight "halls of disputation" described by Hoien Thsang as being built on the land between the monasteries.

Before closing this paper I feel bound to accord my thanks to the following gentlemen, zemindars of Bihár, who gave me the most

valuable aid in carrying out the excavation of the mound :—Babú Byjnáth Sing, Babú Shivdiyal Sing, Choudhuri Wahid Ali (zemindar of Burgáon), and Moulvie Abdul Aziz.

The excavation of the whole of Burgáon topes and ruins would I feel sure add much to the imperfect knowledge we have of the early history of Bengal, and would bring to light many specimens of the art and skill which was once devoted to the construction and adornment of the temples of a religion which (as far as this country is concerned) has passed away. The same remark applies to the ruins at Chandeemow, Jowaffir, Jagdispur, Tillarch, Hurgáon, Tétráwan, Ghosráwan, and Rájgir. The thorough exploration of these remains is a task I trust one day to be in a position to undertake.

Appendix A.

Description of the Hindu and Budhist Sculptures found in the Ruins of the Nálanda Monastery, Burgáon.

I. Figure of Myádevi, mother of Budha, in black basalt, 4 feet 2 inches high. The hair is gathered up in a chignon behind, and is festooned over the forehead in front by an elaborate tiara and jewel. The left ear-ring nearly reaches the breast, being apparently weighed down by an enormous jewel; the other ear is decorated by a smaller ornament of the chakra form. A garment, covered with a pattern of stars and sprigs, depends from a girdle and passes from behind over the breasts from right to left. Elaborate ornaments decorate the neck, arms, and feet. The wrists bear ornaments which cover nearly a third of the arm. They consist of narrow rims of metal gradually increasing in size towards the elbow and joined together in front. Ornaments exactly similar to these, made of brass, are now worn by women of the Gowala caste, and are called "*batisi.*" They are often 1½ or 2 seers in weight. On either side of the figure is an attendant: the one to the right holds a drawn sword and supports a bull on his shoulders; the other rests one hand on his thigh, while the other grasps a heavy battle-axe of precisely the shape and size used by the crusaders of the middle ages.

II. Figure of Budha in black basalt, 3 feet 2 inches high, in the attitude of instruction; seated on a throne consisting of two portions —the upper decorated with two rows of lotus leaves, and the second divided into four compartments, containing representations of a devotee at either corner, two lions couchant, and in the centre the wheel of the law with a deer on either side. The hair is in tufts. There is an attendant on either side. All the three figures are draped in a long cloak, and the back of the throne is elaborately carved. The head is surmounted by a three-branched *pipal* tree, and on either side is a flying attendant holding a scroll or garland in his hands.

III. A fine, and almost perfect, figure of Myádevi in black basalt, 3 feet 9 inches high, standing on a lotus pedestal supported by a plain moulding divided into five compartments. At the right hand corner is seen a devotee in the act of making an offering. The hair is gathered into a chignon on the top of the head, and is festooned over the brow, which is surmounted by a tiara. The ear-rings are circular, depressed in the centre. There are ornaments on the neck, arms, wrists, and feet. A garland surrounds the body, stretching from left to right. The drapery is the same as in No. I, except that the star and sprig pattern is confined to the lower parts, and does not extend to that which covers the breasts. The left hand grasps a lotus, the stalk of which springs from the ground to the left of the figure, and is of elaborate pattern. Parallel with the face are two seated Budhas. There are two attendant

figures. The one to the right is a four-armed female in the attitude of defence; to the left is a male figure armed with a drawn sword. The Budhist creed and the donor's name are inscribed on the figure, which is mentioned in Martin's Patna and Shahabad, page 95.

IV. Alto-relievo figure of Myádevi seated on a lotus pedestal, supported by a throne divided into five compartments, the two principal of which contain lions, the central one being covered with a dependant cloth. A star-patterned garment, fastened by a jewelled girdle at the waist, descends as far as the ankle of the left foot, and also covers the right leg, which extends beneath the throne and rests on a lotus flower. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the left hand touches the seat of the throne behind the left knee and grasps the stem of a lotus flower. The hair is dressed as in No. III. There is a plain bangle on either wrist, and more elaborate ornaments on the neck, arms, and feet. There is a halo round the head, and a beaded pattern borders the background of the statue. A garland passes over the left shoulder, across the left breast to the right thigh. The Budhist creed is inscribed above the halo, and below the figure the donor's name. This idol is also mentioned by Martin, page 95.

V. Seated figure of Padmopáni in black basalt, 3 feet 6 inches high. The left hand bears a lotus stalk and grasps the left knee, which rests on a lotus flower beneath the throne. The pedestal, &c., are the same as in IV. A garment descends from a jewelled band at the waist, and extends to the ankle of the right foot, and to just above the knee of the left leg. The hair is twisted up into a long conical point, and two streamers or ribbons rise above it. The hair falls in ringlets over the shoulders. The ear-rings are circular, and the ornament the same as before described. On either side of the head is a seated Budha—the one to the left in the attitude of instruction, that to the right of meditation. The figure bears the Budhist creed and the donor's name.

VI. Alto-relievo figure of Siva, 3 feet 8 inches high, of black basalt. The figure stands on a lotus pedestal, below which is a throne divided into seven compartments. The figure is four-armed. The hair is twisted into a long conical point. The centre compartment of the throne contains a simple scroll work ornament; the next, adjoining it to the right, a four-armed seated figure, and to the left a bull. The rest have plain mouldings. On either side of the main figure are attendants. The one to the left has a sword raised above the head; the other is four-armed, and has a deer on one side and a lion on the other. On either side of the head is an attendant as in No. II The background on either side consists of a simple pillar surmounted by a moulding which terminates in a dragon's head. Outside the pillar, and underneath the moulding, a dragon is seen in the act of destroying an elephant. A chain depends from the neck, under the arms, and passes over the knees.

VII. Alto-relievo figure of Vishnu, 3 feet 6 inches high, in black basalt, standing on a lotus pedestal. At the left corner a devotee is seen in the act of making an offering. The background is precisely as in the last figure. The head is surmounted by a five-sided conical

crown, from underneath which the hair falls in ringlets on the shoulders. The figure is four-handed. The upper hand on the right side grasps a mace, singularly like a crozier; the lower is turned outwards over a lotus flower, and exhibits the "royal sign" (a "chakra" or wheel). The lower hand on the opposite side holds a "chakra." On either side are attendants. To the right a figure of Lachmi, to the left Saraswati, each standing on a small pedestal of lotus flowers, with very diminutive attendants behind them. The ornaments, &c., are the same as in the last figure.

VIII. A figure of Vishnu, the same as the last.

IX. Alto-relievo figure of Vishnu, 3 feet 4 inches high. The stone behind the figure is open. The jewels, chain, garland, &c., are identical with those in VII and VIII. The head is covered by a triple-pointed crown. The figure is four-armed. The upper hand on the right side grasps a mace, the lower a disc or bull. The upper hand on the left side grasps a "chakra," the lower a shell.

X. A large figure of Budha (headless) in the attitude of contemplation, 3 feet high, and seated on a lotus pedestal. *I Separate from this* a throne of black basalt, 3 feet 8 inches long, and divided into five compartments. The centre contains two female figures, one in the act of making an offering. The two next are filled with lions couchant 10 inches long, and the two last with grotesque kneeling figures, supporting the moulding above. This was found in the centre of the temple described in the text.

[The great door-way has been already described in detail, and so have also the pillars taken from the vestibule of the temple.]

XI—XIII. Circular "choityos," about 1 foot high, and no less than 6 feet 9 inches in circumference, with an ornament on either side. There is a square incision on the top, and parts of the base are hollowed out to admit of their being firmly cemented to the floor.

I found more than 40 of these "choityos" on the terrace and steps to the east of the temple.

XIV. Portion of a lintel or panel from the interior of the temple. Stone, a light sandstone, commonly called here Mirzapore stone. It is surrounded by a border of lotus leaves. In the upper part are elaborate scroll work ornaments, below a grotesque face with horns. Beneath this two figures with arms and legs entwined, surrounded by scroll work.

XV. Figure of Vishnu, 4 feet 10 inches high, seated on the mythical "garúr." The head is covered with a conical crown. The ornaments consist of a necklace and bangles. A serpent is twisted round each arm. The bird's wings are extended on each side, and its talons are seen between the feet of the idol. The base is plain.

XVI. Unmutilated figure of Vishnu, 3 feet 4 inches high, resembling in all particulars VII, VIII, and IX.

XVII. Seated figure of Padmopáni, 3 feet 5 inches high. Resembles those previously described, except that an attendant is seated on the right side, and a second is seen in front of the lion below the throne.

XVIII. Alto-relievo figure of the third incarnation of Vishnu (the "Varáha"), in black basalt. Winged attendants on either side of the head. The stone is hollowed out at the back of the figure, and is surrounded by a beaded pattern. The idol is four-armed, and bears the same ornaments as in VII, VIII, and IX, except that there is only a frontlet in the head, which is turned to the left, from underneath which the hair falls in ringlets to the right. Above the face is a lotus flower full blown. On the right side the upper hand grasps a mace and the lower a disc; on the left a shell and wheel, while a miniature female figure reclines on the elbow of the right arm. On either side of the feet are "nagas," with serpent tails and a background of serpent hoods. The one to the left supports the foot of the main figure on a lotus pedestal, and its tail ultimately twists itself round the right leg of the figure, while the tail of the other is entwined in that of its mate.

XIX. A very beautiful Budhist idol in two parts, 2 feet 10 inches high. The throne has a wheel and two deer in the centre. The crown is conical and most elaborately wrought. On either sides of the figure, which is seated on a lotus pedestal, are two attendants. On either side are elaborate pillars with base and capital, covered with fantastic design, the most prominent feature of which is the gurgoyle or grotesque face. Over the capital of each pillaster is seated a grotesque female figure. From these spring an arched canopy covered with elaborate scroll work, in the centre of which is a repetition of the dragon face. Above this is a series of three inches each containing a Budha.

XX. Figure of Vishnu, 3 feet 5 inches high, identical with 9.

XXI. Figure of Budha, 2 feet 11 inches high; throne divided into five compartments, the two principal of which contain lions, the central one being covered by a dependent festooned cloth. The figure is in the act of instruction and the hair is in tufts. The back of the throne is composed of three lines of scroll work, and the cushion on, or rather against which, the body rests is shewn with peculiar effect. The head is surrounded by an ornamented halo, and there are two Budhas seated on either side.

XXII. Figure of Vishnu, 3 feet 5 inches high, identical with VII.

XXIII. Figure of Vishnu, 2 feet 4 inches high, as in VII, &c.

XXIV. Same as the last, but open at the back, as in IX.

XXV. Alto-relievo figure of Vishnu in black basalt, 2 feet 10 inches high. This figure is exquisitely carved and quite perfect. The "chakra" is not held in the hand, but is of considerable dimensions, and rests on the ground behind the attendant to the left.

XXVI. Four-armed figure of Brahma, 2 feet high. Background as in VII and VIII. Three heads with the hair dressed in conical points. The upper left hand grasps a square mace, and the right a circular one. On the left side of the figure is a standing attendant, and to the right a bird.

XXVII. Figure of Budha, 1 foot 10 inches high, holding the "fasting bowl," and seated on a lotus pedestal supported by scroll work. Pillasters on either side as in XIX, surmounted by a canopy but no niches.

XXVIII. Figure of Vishnu, 2 feet 5 inches high, as in XXII, &c. This was discovered by me in one of the side rooms of the excavated temple.

XXIX. A slab of black basalt, 2 feet 4 inches high. On one side is represented a canopy supported by plain columns. It resembles the cupola of a temple, and in a niche is seen the "lingam," &c. Between the columns, on a lotus pedestal, stand a four-armed female figure with a lion one side and deer on the other. The usual ornaments are seen, and the hair is twisted into a cone. The upper right hand grasps a rosary, the left a knife, and the one under it a bell. The lower right hand is empty. This is a figure of Párvati. On the reverse is a quite perfect alto-relieve figure of Vishnu, as in VII, &c., without a canopy.

XXX. A slab of black basalt, 2 feet 5 inches high. In the centre a canopy of plain mouldings is supported by two simple pillars; beneath it is a figure of Gunesh, four-armed and leaning on a battle axe.

XXXI–VI. Semicircular stone slabs divided by mouldings into two compartments. The first is at the bottom of the stone, and above this is a row of 11 Budhas in the attitude of instruction, and a second of the same number in the attitude of meditation. There is a second moulding, and above it a row of 11 Budhas with the fasting bowl. Each stone measures 1 foot 4 inches by a foot. From the marks on the top and side of the stone it appears they were linked together in a circle by iron bolts.

XXXVII. Curious carving in black basalt, 3 feet 2 inches high. A male and female "naga" embracing each other. Above the waist the figures are human and are richly dressed and ornamented, below they have the bodies of snakes, which are entwined round each other. In the hands are scrolls and garlands. The background consists of a series of cobra-hoods arranged like a shell.

XXXVIII. Exact counterpart of XXXVI.

XXXIX. Circular stone vessel, use unknown, with deep square incision in the centre and notched pattern on the edge. A scroll ornament on each side. Depth, 3 inches; circumference, 3 feet 6 inches.

XL. Ornamental carving 2 feet high. In the centre an alto-relievo figure of Budha in an oval medalion. The borders are covered with a rich geometrical pattern.

XLI. Small slab of fine black basalt, 1 foot 2 inches high by 9 inches wide. In the centre a sitting Budha with two attendants under a canopy. Outside this, from the top to the bottom of the stone, are sitting Budhas arranged in rows—no less than 45 in all. This was embedded in the brick-work of the second chamber of the excavated temple.

XLII. Semicircular basalt slab, 1 foot 3 inches high by 1 foot 8 inches wide. In the centre, within a trefoil, is a Budha, and a handsome border of grotesque figures and scroll work. From the interior of the temple.

XLIII. Upper part of the canopy of a Budhist figure. Height 1 foot. Arch trefoil, grotesque face at the top of the arch, and very fine scroll work all round it. From the interior of the temple.

XLIV. Alto-relievo figure of Budha, 1 foot 4 inches high. Canopy and figure carved in one piece, but the right hand corner has been broken off. Pillars, &c., as in XIX, but very beautiful scroll work takes the place of the lion throne. The figure is quite perfect, the legs are crossed and the "fasting bowl" is held on the lap.

XLV. Figure of Padmopáni, 3 feet high, seated on a lotus pedestal, supported by a throne divided into five compartments as in VI. There are the usual ornaments on the neck, wrists, and feet. The ear-rings are circular. The legs are crossed, and the sole of the feet, as well as the palm of the right hand, bear the "mark of royalty." A spangled garment descends from a jewelled girdle at the waist to the ankles. A lotus stalk springs *from under each arm*, and its blossoms are parallel with the head. The hair is dressed in three rows, one above the other, and profuse ringlets fall on the shoulders and breast. On each side is a kneeling attendant similarly dressed; one rests on a mace, and the other has a similar weapon under his arm, while the hands are clasped in the attitude of supplication. The figure is quite perfect.

XLVI. Figure of Vishnu, 2 feet 3 inches high, carved in a curious sort of red stone, similar in all respects to those before described.

XLVII—XLVIII. Figure of Padmopáni, 2 feet 5 inches high, seated on a throne. There is a well carved lion rampant at each corner and a festooned drapery in the centre. The left leg extends beneath the throne, and the right foot is drawn up and rests on the left thigh. The hair is gathered up in a round chignon on the top of the head, and there are ringlets on either side. Above the forehead a Budha is seated in the hair. There are ornaments on the neck, arms, and wrists, but none on the feet. The right arm rests on the right knee; the left hand rests on the throne, and grasps a lotus stem.

XLIX. A somewhat rudely carved figure of the goddess Durgá, 3 feet 4 inches high. The left foot is upraised in the act of trampling an enemy under foot. There are ornaments on the neck, arms, and feet, but their precise shape is not visible. A small attendant figure to the left grasps the handle of an umbrella, which surmounts the head, which is turned to the left, and the right arm is in the act of striking. The legs are covered by a skirt descending from a jewelled girdle. The hair is dressed on a high round chignon. There are winged attendants on either side of the head.

L. Figure of Padmopáni, 2 feet 4 inches high. The hair is gathered up in a chignon, and ringlets are carefully trained on the shoulders. Behind the ears are wheel-shaped ornaments. Round the neck is an elaborate necklace and inside it a "málá" or rosary. The position of the feet is exactly the reverse of that in XLVIII, but the right hand rests on the right knee. The figure is seated on a pedestal of lotus leaves with a plain moulding underneath.

LI. Four-armed figure of a goddess, 3 feet high, seated on the back of a lion couchant. On either side of the head are winged attendants. The hair is dressed in a conical shape, a miniature figure of Budha being seated in the midst of it. The head is surrounded by an oval halo. The ornaments are as usual. The right leg is dependent from the throne, and rests on a lotus blossom. The left is gathered up on

the lion's back; the sole of the foot, being turned outwards, touches the right thigh and exhibits the "royal sign." The upper hands are upraised; the right holding a hammer, the left a mace. The lower hands grasp pincers and are stretched forth right and left in the act of seizing the tongues of two unfortunate attendants who crouch at each corner of the figure, with their hands tied with cords behind their backs. The figure bears an inscription of two lines on the bottom plinth; General Cunningham has copied it. It is in the character of the 8th, 9th or 10th century A. D., and records the dedication of the image at Nálanda in the first year of the "great monarch" Gopal Pála. [The word Nálanda also occurs in an image of the Ashta-Sakti found in Burgáon.] The former inscription is lithographed, and I am indebted to General Cunningham for the transcript. The background is oval in shape and surrounded by a handsome scroll work pattern.

LII. Portion of a lintel or ornamental panel, 3 feet 6 inches long. At the bottom is a standing female figure with crossed legs, both hands grasping a stem, from which an elaborate pattern extends on either side to the top. From the interior of the excavated temple.

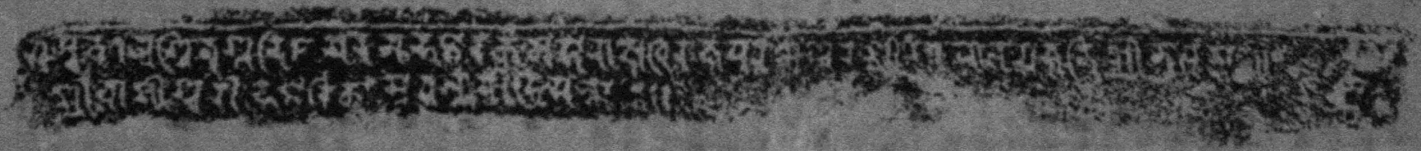
LIII. A slab of black basalt, 4 feet 1 inch long by 1 foot 6 inches high, containing representations of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The ninth is that of Budha, a standing figure with a long cloak and tufted hair. This is a remarkably fine carving, and is alluded to in the text.

LIV. Very beautiful figure of Myádevi, 2 feet 10 inches high, resembling in every particular III.

LV. A Budhist figure, 2 feet 6 inches high, and four-handed. The hair is gathered up in a cone-like chignon, in the midst of which a Budha is seated. The figure stands on a lotus pedestal, and a dhotee falls in graceful folds from the waist to the feet. The upper right hand has a "málá," and the left a lotus.

LVI. A figure, 3 feet 6 inches high, of great beauty and meriting a very detailed description. The pedestal has a plain moulding at the top and bottom and is divided into five compartments. In the two outer ones, on either side, are pigs or wild boars looking right and left. In the centre are two pigs, one on either side, with a grotesque figure between them. In the centre of the pedestal is a small female figure, about 6 inches high, sitting cross-legged, and monkey-faced. On either corner of the pedestal is a similar figure, standing, and in the attitude of striking. The main figure is three-headed, the central and right human, the left that of a pig or monkey. The hair is rolled up into a four-rowed pointed chignon, and a Budha is situated in a small niche in the centre. The ornaments consist of ear-rings, necklace, bangles, &c., and are unusually elaborate. The arms and feet are stretched out right and left, as if in the attitude of attack or defence. The lower hands are unfortunately broken; the rest are perfect. As to the right side, the second hand holds an arrow, the third a thunderbolt, the fourth a sword, which is waved over the head. The second on the left side grasps a hammer, the third a lotus, the fourth a bow. Above the sword is a plain moulding, on which is inscribed the Budhist creed. To the left of the triple head is a winged figure with a pig-like face. Above the head is a pipal tree, and over this a sort of tope or tower

INSCRIPTION



1 Samvat 7 Aswin Sudi 9 Paramabhattáraka Mahárájádhirája Parameswara Sri Gopála rájara Sri Nálanchayáin

2 Sri Vágiswari

From a rubbing by A. M. Broadley, Esq., C. S.,

Reduced to about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the original rubbing

in a niche, in the centre of which is a small seated Budha in the attitude of meditation.

LVII. Figure of Myádevi, similar to LIV but less ornamented, and without the figures on either side of the head. To the left of the head is a "choityo."

LVIII Figure of Durgá, *two-handed*, 2 feet 5 inches high, with the legs extended in the attitude of defence and covered with a spangled skirt. Only one head, and that seen full face. The figure tramples under foot a monster with human hands and feet, one of which grasps a dagger. On the right side an attendant holds an umbrella.

LIX. Triple pedestal of lotus flowers springing from one stalk. In the centre is seated a figure of Budha, cross-legged and four-armed. On the lesser pedestals two attendants are seated.

LX. Four-armed figure of Padmopáni standing on a lotus leaf pedestal. A female attendant on either side.

LXI. Figure of Budha, 2 feet 4 inches high, seated on a lotus leaf throne and very perfect. Similar to those before described. There is a "choityo" on either side of the head.

LXII. Portion of the background of a figure. A pillaster and half an arch covered with the most elaborate scroll work. Inside a dragon and rider are seen in the act of destroying an elephant.

LXIII. Colossal figure of the third incarnation of Vishnu ("Varáha"), 10 feet high, broken in two pieces, finely executed in black basalt. The details are precisely the same as in 18 on an enlarged scale. The moulding at the base of the figure is covered with very elaborate scroll work. This figure was taken from the mud at the bottom of the Suruj pokar.

LXIV. Standing figure of Padmopáni, 4 feet 6 inches high, dressed as previously described.

LXV. Figure of Vishnu, quite perfect, carved in a very beautiful sort of green stone. Identical with XVIII.

LXVI—LXXI. Five slabs of basalt, from 3 feet to 4 feet long, each containing rows of small Budhas. From the terrace of the temple.

. . . . . .

Besides these figures there are several others which still remain at Burgáon. A figure of Vishnu, on the banks of the Suruj-pokar, rather larger than any of the others described, but, strange to say, singularly badly proportioned; a much larger duplicate of LVI; two large Budhas of the ordinary type; a large number of broken Budhist idols represented as sitting European fashion, and the group within the enclosure of the "Téliá Bhandár." The exact proportions of this figure are as follows:—

	Feet.	Inches.
Crown of head to chin...	2	6
Crown of head to seat of throne	5	6
Length of head	1	4
„ of foot	1	3
Circumference of head at forehead	4	4
Shoulder to elbow	2	7
Elbow to hand	1	8

	Feet.	Inches.
Hip to knee...	3	2
Knee to ankle	2	9
Round the wrist	5	0
Round the breast	5	7
Round the waist	1	9
Round the thigh	2	8
Round the neck	3	1

I give these data at the suggestion of Babú Rajendra Lálá Mitra, who informed me that a comparison of the proportions with those of similar figures would be interesting.

Many of the figures bear the Budhist creed (in characters chiefly of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries,) "ye dharmaheta, etc.,"—the literal translation of which is "whatever effects from cause has been explained by Tathágata, as also the final end of such effects. The expounder of this is the great sage Mahasramana," and in addition to this the name of the dedicator or donor.

Appendix B.

Inscription on the door of the excavated temple, with notes, translation, &c., by Babú Rajendra Lálá Mitra.

DEVANAGARI TRANSCRIPT.

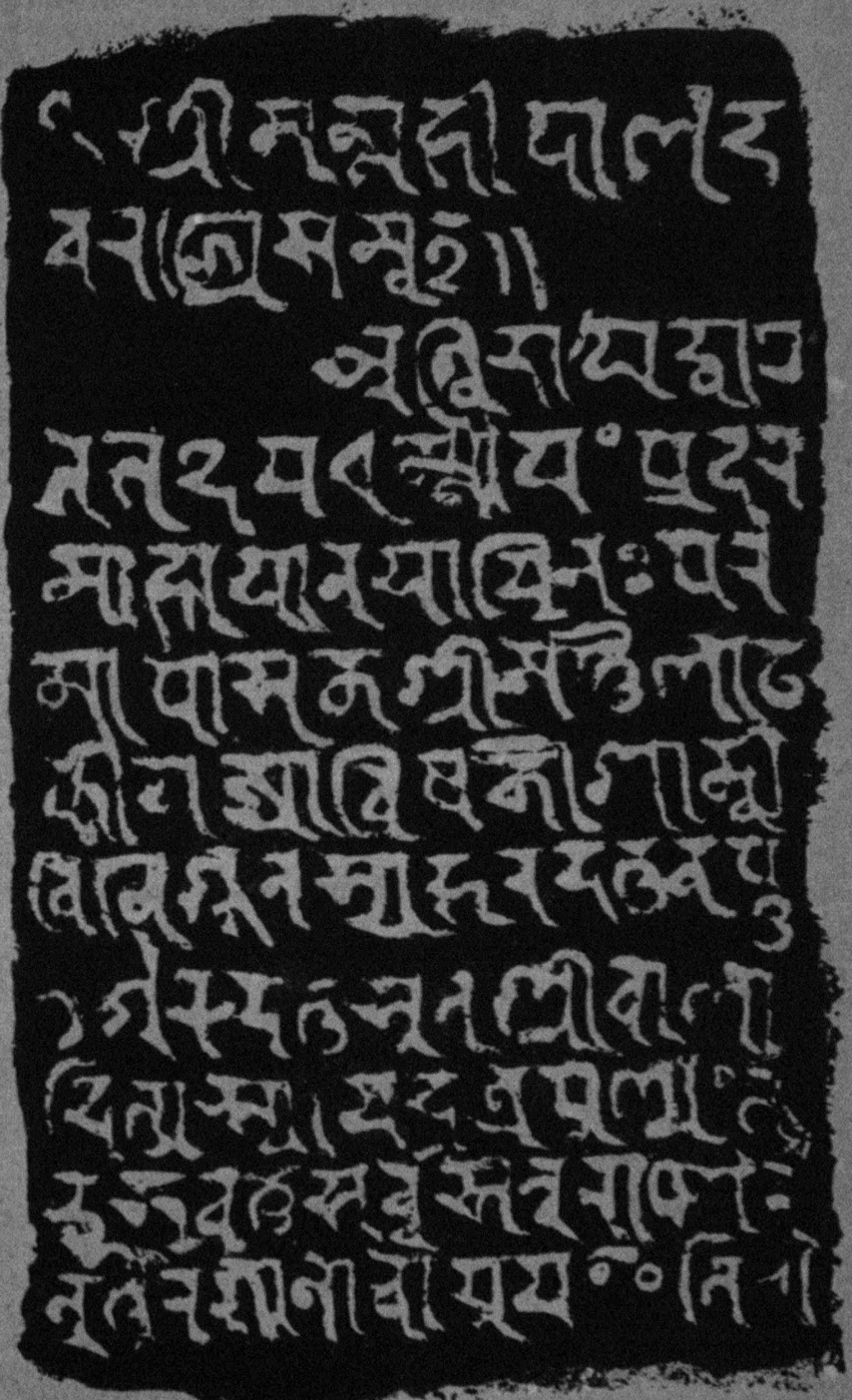
श्रीमन्महीपाल देवराज्ये सम्वत ॥ अगनी राघद्वार तते देयधम्मा यं प्रवरमा [म | द्दायान यायीन ःपरमोपासक श्रीमत्तैलाढ कीयश्चाधीप कौशाम्बी विनिर्गतस्य हरदत्त नप्तु र्गुहदत्त सुत श्रीबाला दित्यस्य यदत्त पुण्यं तन्मात सर्वसत्त्व राशेरत्त नुरज्ञाना वाप्तय इती ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of Srímat Mahipála Deva. Sumvat 913 (= A.D. 856). This is a religious gift of Bálá́ditya, the son of Gurudatta, and grandson of Haradatta, a follower of the noble Mahá́yána school, &c., a devout worshiper who came from (the city of) Kausámbí (wherein he was) the chief among the wisemen of the auspicious Tailádhaka (clan). Whatever merit may accrue from this, may the same be to the advancement of the highest knowledge among the mass of mankind. The end.

. . . . . .

This record is inscribed on the jamb of the entrance to the Nálanda temple. It occurs at the foot of an ornamental scroll, and measures 8 inches by 5. Its language is Sanskrit, and its extent 12 lines, of which the second breaks off in the middle after the word *samrat*, and the third begins so as to leave some space at the beginning. This was done probably with a view to leave room enough for the date in figures, but the figures were never put in. The jamb being made of



From a rubbing by A. M. Broadley, Esq., C. S.

hard basalt, and having been placed on the door side, deep behind a broad portico or veranda, suffered not at all from the influence of the weather when *in situ*; and since the destruction of the temple, having remained buried under a large mass of rubbish, between 20 and 30 feet deep, looks as fresh as when it was first turned out of the sculptor's atellics.

The subject of the record is a donation to the temple, but the nature of the gift is not apparent. The words used for the purpose are *deya dharmoyam*—"this is a religious gift," and the pronoun therefore may apply to the stone on which it occurs, or the gate of which the stone forms a part, or the entire temple. Looking to the nature of the temple, a brick structure cemented with clay and plastered with stucco, which had undergone several repairs, the plastering in many places being not in keeping with the mouldings formed of bricks, and the door-ways, apart from the stone facings, being perfect and bearing marks of plastering under the stones, I am disposed to think that the door frame and the portico were presented to the temple long after its erection, probably at the time of one of the repairs, and that the record refers to the additions, and not to the original structure. The donor was one Bálāditya, a native of Kausámbí in the Doab of the Ganges, the son of Gurudatta and grandson of Haradatta. He was a Budhist by religion, a follower of the Mahāyána school, and a devout worshipper. He belonged to a clan of oil-sellers named *Tailádhaka*. Among the Hindus such a prominent mention of so low a caste would never have been thought of, but among Budhists, whose ranks were generally filled by the lower orders of the community, the designation of the race of a *téli* as "an auspicious one" is by no means remarkable. The dedicator claims no merit to himself for the gift, but desires that the fruit of it may promote "the advancement of the highest (religious) knowledge among the mass of mankind." The date of the inscription is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as it helps us to settle the age of a powerful dynasty in Bengal. The record was put up in the reign of Mahipala in the Samvat year 913=A. D. 856. The figures are given in three symbolical words: the first—*agni*, "fire," being equal to 3; the second—*rágha*, "power,"=to 1; and the third *dvára*, 'door'=9. This would be equal to 319, but the practice invariably followed in common with symbolical figures is to transpose them according to the well known rule, *nakasya vamágati*, "figures run to the left," and I have no hesitation therefore in adopting it in the present instance, particularly as the character of the writing, the kutila, which had a range of between four and five centuries from the 8th to the 12th, fully justifies my course. The symbolical meanings of the first and the last words are well known and undoubted. The second, however, is not in common use; at least I have never meet with it. Its first letter *rá* is unmistakable, but the second may be a compound of *d* and *ya*, which would produce *dya* or one, the *r* being taken for the visarga after agni. This would lead to the same result, but as the first word cannot take the nominative case mark, I prefer the reading adopted.

It might at first sight appear that the word *doárá*, door, refers to the locality where the gift was made; but such an assumption would leave

the first two words unaccounted for. The door faces the east exactly, and the word *agni*, "fire," for the south-east quarter, cannot be applied to it. If it could be, still the second word would remain a stumbling block to the interpretation.

Assuming my reading of the date to be correct, we have a starting point for the age of the Pálas of Bengal, whose history has hitherto been involved in complete obscurity. The first record of the Pálas occurs in the *agen i Akbari*, which embraces the names of ten princes; but in the entire absence of a reliable date in it, it is of little value. It does not, besides, include the name of Máhï Pála, who is well known to have been one of the most distinguished of his race,-and whose tanks in the districts of Dinájpur and Moorshedabad still preserve his memory among the people. In 1781 Wilkins translated the first authentic document of the Pálas, "a royal grant of land engraved on a copper plate and discovered among the ruins at Monghyr," but it bore the date of the reigning sovereign, Deva Pála, and did not therefore serve to throw any light on the chronology of his race. The translation appeared in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches (p. 123), but unfortunately without the text, and many doubtful points in it cannot now be solved. The original is not to be found in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, and I suppose therefore that it was taken away by Wilkins to England, where it may still be in the possession either of some of his descendants or of some public institution. It opens with the name of Go Pála, a pious king, "who acted according to what is written in the Sastra, and obliged the different sects to conform to their proper tenets." His religion is not mentioned, but he was evidently a Budhist, for the document begins with a comparison between him and Sugata Budha, the allusion to the Sastra being intended to imply his tolerant character. His son, Dharma Pála, seems to have died while engaged in a marauding excursion towards the Himalaya. The circumstance is explained by his panegyrist in the following manner: "He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good, and happily his salvation was effected at the same time, for his servants visited Kedar, and drank milk according to the law, and they offered up their vows where the Ganges joins the ocean, and at Gokarra and other places." It is scarcely likely that the king had ever exercised any power in those places. His accomplished wife, Kanna Devi, bore him a son, Prince Deva Pála, who succeeded his father in the kingdom, "even as Bodhisattoa succeeded Sugata." His name occurs as "the lord of the land" in a Budhist inscription found in a mound near Pesserawa in Bihár.* His conquests, according to the chronicler, extended from the source of the Ganges to Adam's bridge, including the Vindya and Kamboja countries; but probably it did not in reality stretch much beyond the Vindyan range. The conquest of Kamboja evidently had no firmer basis than the imagination of the poet. When encamped at Mudgagiri, modern Munghyr, this prince, on the 21st day of Margasirsa (November-December), in the 33rd year of his reign, bestowed the town of Misika in Krimila, a department of Srínagar, modern Patna, to one Bodha

* Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XVII, page 401.

Bhikshurata Misra. The imprecations, against the resumption of the grant are given in the usual Puranic style. The Buddal pillar inscription from Dinajpur, also translated by Wilkins,* supplies the names of two of Deva Palá's successors, viz. those of Sura Palá and Nárayana Pála. Sir William Jones, in his remarks on this record, adds a third, Kájya Pála, but his name does not appear in Wilkins' translation. That translation, however, was condemned by Sir William, who had the text before him, which we have not, and on his authority the name may be accepted as correct. The inscription was put up by a minister of Náráyana Pála, who has recorded the merits of his ancestors, who seem to have been all servants of the Pála family. "Trusting to the wisdom" of one of them, the chronicler states the King of Gour for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Utkala (Orissa), of the Hannas of humbled pride, of the Kings of Drávida and Gurjara, whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne. The two records put together afford the following list—

King.	Minister.
I.—Go Pála	Páuchála.
II.—Dharma Pála, son of I	Garga.
III.—Deva Pála, son of II	Darbhapám.
IV.—Kájya Pála, son of III	Somésvara.
V.—Sura Pála, son of IV	Kedára Mis'rá.
VI.—Náráyana Pála, son of V	Gurova Mis'rá.

The allusions and comparisons in the second inscription are throughout Puranic, but neither the religion of the kings nor of their ministers is anywhere distinctly mentioned. Possibly the minister was a Hindu, and therefore avoided a subject which could not be touched upon without offence either to his own religious sentiment or that of his Budhist master.

Turning now to the Sárnatha inscription published in the 5th volume of the Asiatic Researches, I find the names of four Bengal Pálas, viz. Mali Pála, Sthira Pála, Vasanta Pála, and Kumara Pála; but the record is throughout so corrupt, and the reading so manifestly incorrect, that no reliance whatever can be placed on it for purposes of historical deduction. The names in the original were very likely quite different from what they appear in the transcript, and therefore I cannot but reject the whole as untrustworthy.

It is to be regretted that the next record to which I have to refer, a copper plate inscription found at Amgachhi in Dinajpur, appears also to be defective. Colebrooke, who translated it, published only an abstract. The original, however, exists in the Indian museum, and I hope ere long to re-examine it. According to Colebrooke's abstract, "the first prince mentioned in it is Loka Pála, and after him Dharma Pála. The next name has not been deciphered, but the following one is Jaya Pála, succeeded by Deva Pála; two or three subsequent names are yet undeciphered; then followed Kaja Pála, Pála, Deva, and Vigraha Pála, and subsequently Mohi Pála Deva, Naya Pála, and Vigraha Pála. The date appears to be 9th day of Choitra (March-April), Samvat 12.

* Asiatic Researches, I, 131.

The first person, Loka Pála, was probably the founder of the family, and he was followed by Go Pála, whose name occurs in the Munghyr plate, but is illegible in this record. I am disposed to think however that the two names are aliases of the same person. Both mean a protector of the earth, and the use of synonyms, though highly reprehensible in the case of proper names, was not unknown to Indian poets; a third alias of this individual was Bhut Pála. The next name corresponds in the two documents, but his son Deva Pála in the Amagachhi record appears preceded by one Jaya Pála, though in the Munghyr plate he seems "to have peaceably inherited the kingdom of his father." Until I re-examine the plate I can account for the inconsistency only by the supposition that the word *Jaya Pála* is an epithet of Deva Pála, "a protector of victory." The three names of the Buddal record are not legible in the Amgachhi plate, and then follow others as their successors, the result being the following :—

I.—Laka Pála, *alias* Go Pála, *alias* Bhu Pála.
II.—Dharma Pála.
III.—Deva Pála.
IV.—Kájya Pála.
V.—Sura Pála.
VI.—Náráyna Pála.
VII.—Kája Pála.
VIII.——— Pála.
IX.—Vigraha Pála.
X.—Mahi Pála.
XI.—Nya Pála.
XII.—Vigraha Pála.

This corresponds pretty closely with the ten reigns of the Bhu Pála family mentioned by Abul Fazl. The period of their reigns at the usual Indian average of sixteen years to each would be 192 years, of which 144 years for nine reigns would be anterior to the year 853 A.D., commencing with the beginning of the 8th century, and 48 years after that date, or to the close of the 9th century. In my paper on the Sena Raja of Bengal,* I have shown that Adisura, the founder of the Sena dynasty, commenced his reign in the middle of the 10th century, and the gap therefore between the two families will be one of about eighty years, which was probably filled up by two or three of the successors of the second Vigraha Pála.

* Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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